

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 175568 TOSEC 080029

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: LUANDA NEGOTIATIONS

1. DON MCHENRY REPORTS FROM LUANDA THAT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED WITH SWAPO ON ALL ASPECTS OF NAMIBIA SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL EXCEPT TEXT OF SEPARATE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY.

2. WE URGENTLY NEED YOUR VIEWS ON THIS MATTER. CONTACT GROUP HAS PROPOSED TO SWAPO FOLLOWING FORMULATION FOR SECOND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH OF RESOLUTION, WHICH IS THE KEY REMAINING ISSUE:

"DECIDES TO LEND ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE INITIATION OF STEPS NECESSARY TO ENSURE EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE
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REINTEGRATION OF WALVIS BAY INTO NAMIBIA."

SWAPO HAS REQUESTED DELETION OF THE WORDS AGREEMENT ENT
SWAPO HAS REQUESTED THE DELETION OF THE WORDS "AGREEMENT
ON THE" WHICH LEAVES AN IMPRECISION REGARDING THE NATURE
OF THE STEPS TO BE TAKEN.

3. THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMANS HAVE SENT INSTRUCTIONS

TO THEIR NEGOTIATORS TO ACCEPT THE SWAPO FORMULATION,

ALTHOUGH ALL THREE HAVE ASKED THAT WE MAKE AN EFFORT TO ATTAIN THE REFERENCE TO "AGREEMENT." WE HAVE SUGGESTED AN ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION WHICH WOULD READ "DECIDES TO LEND ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE INITIATION OF NEGOTIATIONS LOOKING TOWARD THE EARLY REINTEGRATION OF WALVIS BAY INTO NAMIBIA."

CONTACT GROUP REPRESENTATIVES IN LUANDA BELIEVE THAT NO ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO. THE FRONT LINE STATE REPRESENTATIVES IN LUANDA ARE SUPPORTING SWAPO COMPLETELY ON THIS ISSUE.

4. THE RESOLUTION YOU EARLIER APPROVED READ IN ITS OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH: "CALLS FOR THE OPENING WITHOUT DELAY OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WITH A VIEW TO REACHING EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE REINTEGRATION OF WALVIS BAY INTO NAMIBIA AND AFFIRMS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL LEND ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE ATTAINMENT OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME TO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS." THE IMPACT OF THE RESOLUTION AS PROPOSED BY SWAPO IS SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGED WITH THE EMPHASIS NO LONGER CLEARLY ON NEGOTIATIONS BUT ALSO ON OTHER POSSIBLE UNSPECIFIED STEPS. OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THIS RESOLUTION WILL CAUSE PROBLEMS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IF WE ACCEPT THE

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SWAPO FORMULATION, WE WOULD NEED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE TO MAKE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT THE "STEPS NECESSARY" MEAN PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. WE WOULD ALSO, IN AN APPROPRIATE WAY, BUILD OUR DEFENSE ON THE FACT THAT THE RESOLUTION DOES NOT REPEAT NOT CONTAIN ANY REFERENCE TO CHAPTER SEVEN SANCTIONS.

5. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO HOLD SOUTH AFRICA TO THE RESOLUTION AS AMENDED BY SWAPO IF OUR STATEMENTS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE DRAFTED IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE ENVISAGE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WE WOULD ALSO STRESS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THE WALVIS BAY RESOLUTION IS SEPARATE FROM THE AGREEMENT AND THAT WE HAVE SECURED SWAPO'S ADHERENCE TO THE AGREEMENT WITHOUT CHANGE. THIS IS A FALL-BACK POSITION WE WOULD BE JOINING THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND GERMAN IN URGING SWAPO TO ACCEPT INCLUSION OF THE WORD "AGREEMENT" IN THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION. CHRISTOPHER

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